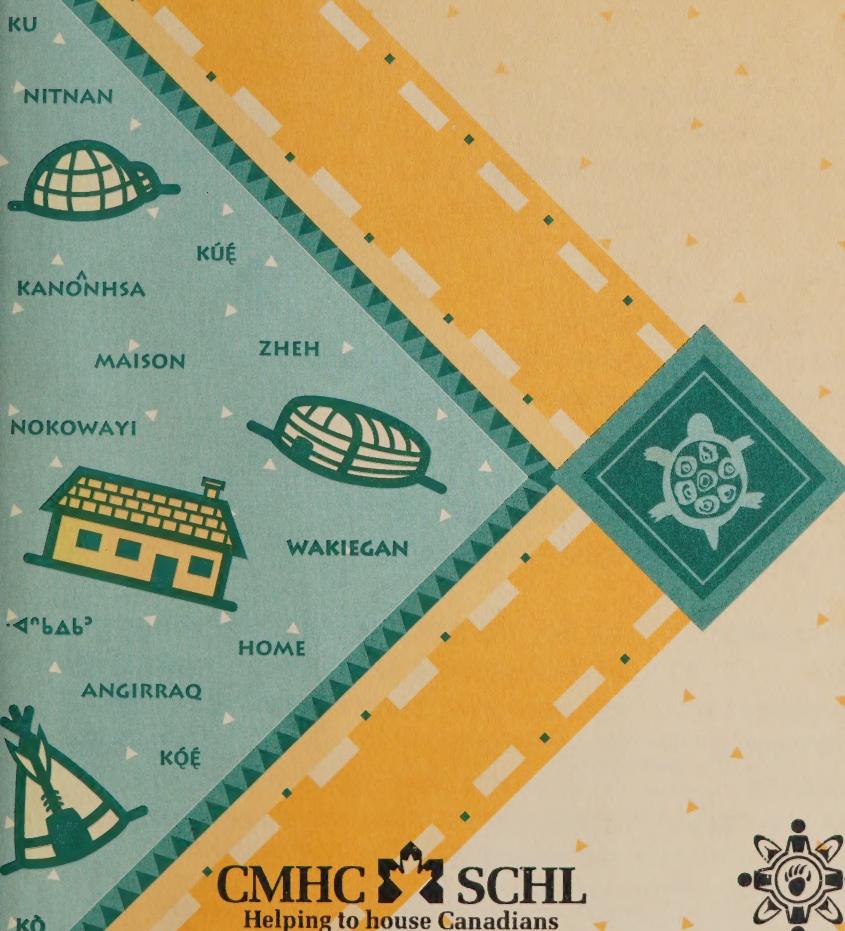


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# Migration and Mobility of Canada's Aboriginal Population



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# **Migration and Mobility of Canada's Aboriginal Population**

*September, 1996*

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Cette publication est aussi disponible en français sous le titre *Migration et mobilité de la population autochtone du Canada, PF 0203.*

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## **PURPOSE**

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This study explores various dimensions of the migration, residential mobility and housing consumption patterns of Canada's Aboriginal population. The study documents the patterns of Aboriginal migration during the 1986-1991 period and provides estimates of net migration volumes and net migration rates for a variety of geographical areas. Separate estimates of migration are provided for the registered Indian, non-status Indian, Metis and Inuit populations. The characteristics of Aboriginal migrants and factors underlying migration decisions are also presented in the study.

The study also examines recent patterns of residential mobility among the Aboriginal population and, within the context of selected major urban areas, explores the relationships between residential mobility and housing consumption patterns.

It is hoped that the study's results are informative and useful to planners, policy makers and researchers concerned with Aboriginal migration, residential mobility and housing consumption.

## **ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS**

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This project has been undertaken for the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples and the Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation. In particular, I would like to thank Mr. A. J. Siggner of the Royal Commission for recognizing the importance of the issues addressed herein and for his support throughout the project. I am also grateful to Mr. D. Chamberland of Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation who recognized the utility of extending the scope of this project to include the topics of residential mobility and housing circumstances and who arranged for the additional financial resources required to include these issues in the research program.

Ms. Colleen Cardillo, Custom Data Consultant with the Post-Censal Surveys Program of Statistics Canada, not only facilitated the production of the Aboriginal Peoples Survey data used throughout this study, but also offered many useful suggestions concerning conceptual and technical issues related to the study's extensive data requirements. Her assistance in this regard is very much appreciated.

I would also like to thank the anonymous reviewers of this report for providing several insightful comments on the report's subject matter and for their suggestions for improvements.

Stewart Clatworthy

# EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

---

## *Introduction*

According to the 1991 Census of Canada and the Aboriginal Peoples Survey, more than 321,000 Aboriginal people reported a different location of residence in 1986 and 1991. This report examines several key dimensions of Aboriginal migration and residential mobility patterns during the 1986-1991 period.

## *The Aboriginal Population*

Information concerning Aboriginal migration and mobility patterns derives from either the 1991 Census of Canada or the Aboriginal Peoples Survey (APS). The Census of Canada allows for identification of the Aboriginal population on the basis of ethnic origin or ancestry. In 1991, this population (which we refer to as the Aboriginal ancestry population) was estimated to include 1,002,675 individuals.

The Aboriginal Peoples Survey, conducted as a follow-up to the Census, sampled the population that reported Aboriginal ethnic origins, but collected information only for that sub-group of individuals who identified with an Aboriginal group. According to the APS, this population (which we refer to as the Aboriginal identity population) totaled about 625,710 individuals.

Data concerning the volume and geographic patterns of Aboriginal migration and the characteristics of migrants are derived from the APS and relate to the population reporting Aboriginal identity. Data concerning Aboriginal residential mobility, housing consumption and locational patterns in major urban areas are based on the 1991 Census and related to the population reporting Aboriginal ancestry. Aboriginal households are defined as those in which people of Aboriginal origin maintain the household.

## *Findings*

### *Geographical Patterns of Migration*

Although nearly 60 percent of Canada's Aboriginal identity population reported at least one change of residence between 1986 and 1991, most moves occurred within the same community. Migrants (i.e. individuals who reported living in different communities in 1986 and 1991) totaled 117,120 individuals, representing about 22 percent of the total Aboriginal identity population aged 5 or more years. The migration rate of Canada's Aboriginal population during the period was slightly lower than that of the total Canadian population (23.5 percent).

Between 1986 and 1991, migration resulted in net inter-provincial population shifts of about 7,145 Aboriginal individuals. Migration

resulted in small increases to the Aboriginal identity populations of both Alberta and British Columbia. All other provinces and regions reported small Aboriginal population losses through migration during the time period.

As in the case of inter-provincial movements, Aboriginal migration between the far-northern, mid-northern and southern regions of Canada resulted in relatively small changes in the populations of these regions. Both the southern and far northern regions of Canada experienced small increases (less than 1 percent) in Aboriginal population through migration. The mid-north region reported a small population loss through migration (less than 2 percent).

In relation to other geographical dimensions of Aboriginal migration, movement on and off reserves and within the rural-urban hierarchy represents a more common and important factor in Aboriginal migration. Large urban centres (Census Metropolitan Areas) experienced a net increase of 5,540 Aboriginal individuals through migration, suggesting that the longstanding process of urbanization of the Aboriginal population continued during the 1986-1991 period. Indian reserves gained 9,540 individuals as a result of migration during the period. Roughly 20 percent of this population increase was associated with migration to reserves of individuals who gained or regained Indian status under the 1985 amendments to the Indian (Bill C-31). Net losses of Aboriginal population through migration were reported for smaller urban areas (8,405 individuals) and rural areas (6,675 individuals).

#### *Characteristics of Migrants*

Data concerning age, gender and family status reveal that females, younger families and lone parent families are over-represented among Aboriginal migrants. These demographic groups within the Aboriginal population remained the most likely to move and formed the bulk of the migrant population during the period. Of particular note in this regard, are the high concentrations of lone parent families among Aboriginal migrants to major urban centres. Lone parent families formed the majority of families with children among the Aboriginal migrant populations residing in several of Canada's major urban centres.

In relation to their non-migrant counterparts, Aboriginal migrants possessed higher personal resources (in the form of educational attainment) and were more likely to be either attending school or participating actively in the labour market. Nevertheless, Aboriginal migrants experienced higher rates of unemployment than Aboriginal non-migrants in all locations except rural areas.

Data for major urban areas with large Aboriginal populations clearly reveals that Aboriginal migrants to major Prairie urban centres experience the greatest economic difficulties in terms of the labour

market and incomes. More than one-half of all Aboriginal migrant households in Winnipeg, Regina, Saskatoon and Edmonton reported incomes below the Statistics Canada low income cut-off in 1990. High rates of dependence on income assistance programs were also characteristic of Aboriginal migrants to these centres.

#### *Reasons for Migration*

In relation to other factors, family issues or housing-related matters were cited much more commonly as reasons for migration to Indian reserves. Although these same factors were also cited frequently by Aboriginal migrants off reserves, migrants to off-reserve locations were much more likely to report moving in response to employment (especially in the case of males) or community-related issues (in the case of females).

#### *Residential Mobility in Major Urban Areas*

Residential mobility (i.e. moves within the same community) was examined within the context of eleven major urban areas which contain large Aboriginal populations. Rates of residential mobility among Aboriginal ancestry households residing in these centres ranged from a low of 47 percent in Toronto to a high of 72 percent in Winnipeg during the 1986-1991 period. In all major urban areas considered, the residential mobility rate of Aboriginal households exceeded that of non-Aboriginal households by a large margin (about 1.8 times higher on average).

Large differences in rates of residential mobility were identified among various types of Aboriginal households. As expected, non-family households reported higher rates of mobility than families. Aboriginal lone parent families residing in Edmonton, Saskatoon, Regina and Winnipeg, however, reported residential mobility rates exceeding 80 percent, a rate of mobility higher than that of non-families.

Data from the Aboriginal Peoples Survey concerning the reasons for moving confirm the importance of housing-related issues to residential mobility. Moves to improve housing conditions accounted for 51 percent of all residential moves. An additional 8 percent of residential moves was attributed to the availability of a housing unit. Family-related issues accounted for 14 percent of all moves. Involuntary or forced moves (e.g. fire, eviction) were reported by roughly 9 percent of all movers. All other factors, such as neighbourhood issues and accessibility issues, were cited much less frequently.

#### *Housing Consumption Deficiencies Among Movers and Stayers*

Aboriginal housing consumption was examined in relation to three commonly-accepted consumption standards: including affordability, adequacy and suitability. In 1991, a significant proportion of Aboriginal households living in each of the eleven major urban areas reported consumption levels which did not meet at least one of the three accepted

standards. In relation to other types of Aboriginal households, housing consumption deficiencies were much more common among lone parent families and non-families. Regardless of household type, Aboriginal households residing in Saskatoon, Regina and Winnipeg reported a considerably higher incidence of housing consumption deficiencies than those residing in other centres.

Although moving represents an opportunity for the household to bring housing consumption better in line with needs and resources, most Aboriginal moves resulted in housing circumstances which continued to fail accepted consumption standards. In all of the eleven urban centres examined, Aboriginal households that moved during the 1986-1991 period were considerably (at least 1.3 times) more likely than those that did not move, to experience at least one housing consumption deficiency.

#### *Locational Patterns in Major Urban Areas*

Analyses comparing the locational patterns of the Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal population revealed low to moderate levels of residential segregation in major urban areas. Tenure differences between the two populations are likely to account for much of the observed levels of segregation.

In most of the major urban areas examined, the Aboriginal population was geographically dispersed. Sizable Aboriginal enclaves were identified in only one urban centre, Winnipeg, where the Aboriginal population accounted for more than 20 percent of the total population residing in each of 14 Census tracts and formed the majority of the population residing in one Census tract. In only two other centres, Regina and Saskatoon, did the Aboriginal population of individual Census tracts exceed 20 percent of the total tract population.

Comparison of the locational patterns of Aboriginal migrants and non-migrants revealed that migrants tended to be located in the same areas as non-migrants. In-migration during the 1986-1991 period served to reinforce and expand existing concentrations of the Aboriginal population in most of the major urban centres.

Additional analyses comparing the locational patterns of Aboriginal movers and stayers did not reveal large differences between the two populations in any of the major urban areas examined. During the 1986-1991 period, the process of residential mobility did not contribute to significant changes in the geographical distribution of the Aboriginal populations in these urban areas.

### *Conclusions*

Although 22 percent of the Aboriginal identity population moved to a new community between 1986 and 1991, migration in general had little impact on the geographic distribution of the population. From a geographic perspective, the most significant dimensions of Aboriginal migration during this period involved the continued migration to major urban areas and the return migration to Indian reserves. This latter dimension may have resulted, in part, from the effects of Bill C-31.

Migrants to larger urban centres tended to reside in areas with sizable existing Aboriginal populations thereby reinforcing and expanding existing population concentrations. In most of the centres examined, however, the Aboriginal population remains geographically dispersed and large Aboriginal enclaves are not common.

High rates of residential mobility and poor housing conditions characterize the Aboriginal populations residing in Canada's major urban areas. These situations are especially pronounced in the major Prairie urban centres of Winnipeg, Regina, Saskatoon, and Edmonton.

For the majority of Aboriginal households residing in major urban areas, the process of residential mobility does not result in the consumption of housing that meets accepted standards. Given this situation, high rates of residential mobility may reflect an additional dimension of the housing challenge confronting Aboriginal households in large cities.

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# CHAPTER 1 - INTRODUCTION

This report presents a brief summary of the results of research designed to identify the nature, scale and implications of recent migration and mobility among Canada's Aboriginal population.<sup>1</sup> The research, sponsored jointly by the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples and Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation (CMHC), employs data from the 1991 Census of Canada and the Aboriginal Peoples Survey (APS) to explore several dimensions of Aboriginal migration and mobility for the 1986-1991 time period. These dimensions include:

- the scale and geographic patterns of migration flows and rates of net migration for various geographic areas;
- the characteristics of migrants and non-migrants and the factors which contribute to or influence migration;
- recent rates of residential mobility and the factors (especially those related to housing circumstances) which contribute to residential mobility; and
- the locational patterns of the Aboriginal populations residing in specific urban centres (Census Metropolitan Areas [CMA's]) and the effects of residential mobility and migration on changes in Aboriginal locational patterns in these centres.

# CHAPTER 2 - CONCEPTS AND DATA SOURCES

## The Aboriginal Population

Data presented in this report derive exclusively from the 1991 Census of Canada or the Aboriginal Peoples Survey. These two data sources define Canada's Aboriginal population in different ways. The 1991 Census captured data on Aboriginal ethnic origins and registered Indian status and provides a basis for defining the population that reported *Aboriginal ancestry*. In this study, we refer to this population as the **Aboriginal ancestry population**. According to the 1991 Census, the population reporting Aboriginal ethnic origins totalled 1,002,675.<sup>2</sup>

The Aboriginal Peoples Survey sampled the population that reported Aboriginal ethnic origins (or registered Indian status) in the Census, but collected data only for that sub-group of individuals that identified with an Aboriginal group (i.e. the concept of *Aboriginal identity*). The study refers to this population as the **Aboriginal identity population**. According to the APS, this population totalled 625,710.<sup>3</sup> Roughly 40 percent of the population that reported having Aboriginal origins (on the Census) did not identify with an Aboriginal group on the Aboriginal Peoples Survey.

Most of the analyses undertaken for this study further differentiates the Aboriginal population on the basis of Aboriginal identity (or ethnic) group. With respect to the Aboriginal identity population five sub-groups are considered, including:

- **registered Indian** (individuals that identified North American Indian as their only identity group [or who reported a non-Aboriginal ethnic origin only] *and* who also reported being registered under the Indian Act);
- **non-status Indian** (individuals that identified North American Indian as their only identity group, but who did *not* report registration under the Indian Act);
- **Metis** (individuals that identified Metis as their only identity group);
- **Inuit** (individuals that identified Inuit as their only identity group); and
- **Other Aboriginal** (individuals that identified as North American Indian but who did not report their registration status or individuals that identified with more than one Aboriginal group).<sup>4</sup>

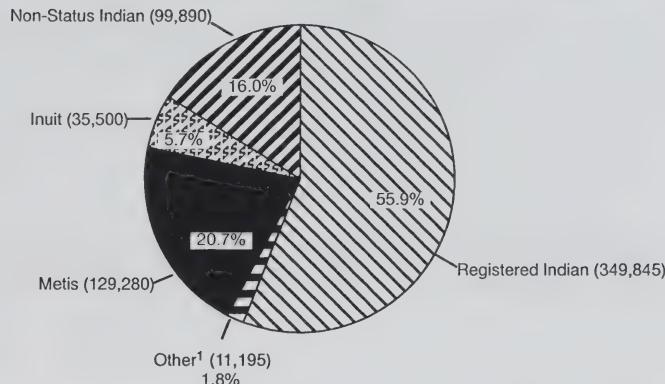
Figure 1 illustrates the composition of the Aboriginal identity population according to the sub-groups used in this study. Registered Indians formed the largest component and accounted for the majority (55.9 percent) of the Aboriginal identity population surveyed by the APS. Metis, non-status Indians and Inuit accounted for 20.7, 16.0 and 5.7 percent of the population, respectively. Roughly 1.8 percent of the population (i.e other Aboriginal) could not be confidently assigned to one of the main identity groups.

## Mobility and Migration

The study's research objectives relate to both mobility and migration. The term **mobility** is used to refer to the general process of changing one's location of residence. The term **migration** is used to refer to a specific dimension of mobility that involves relocating to a different geographical area or community. The term **residential mobility** is used to refer to the process of relocating to a different residence within the same community.

To support the range of analyses undertaken for this study, the Aboriginal population has been divided into several sub-groups reflecting their mobility and migration status. These groups include:

- **non-movers or stayers**, including individuals that lived at the same address 5 years ago (i.e. in 1986) and at the same address 1 year ago (i.e. in 1990);
- **movers**, including individuals that reported a different address five years ago and/or a different address 1 year ago;
- **recent movers**, including individuals that reported a different address 1 year ago;
- **non-migrant movers**, including individuals that reported a different address in the same community 1 year ago (and who also reported

**Figure 1:****Aboriginal Identity Population Showing Distribution by Identity Group, Canada, 1991**

Source: Custom tabulations from the Aboriginal Peoples Survey, 1991.

Note: 1. Includes North American Indian population with unknown registration status and population with multiple responses to identity.

Excludes population residing on non-enumerated Indian reserves.

an address in the same community 5 years ago), and individuals that reported a different address in the same community five years ago;

- **recent non-migrant movers**, including individuals that moved during the previous 12 month period and whose last place of residence was in the same community;
- **migrants or migrant movers**, including individuals that reported residing in a different community (including outside of Canada) five years ago; and
- **recent migrants**, including individuals that moved during the previous 12 month period and whose last place of residence was in a different community (including outside of Canada).

Mobility and migration data for the 1986-1991 period relate to the population aged 5 or more years in 1991. Data pertaining to mobility and migration during the previous 12 month period relate to the population aged 1 or more years in 1991.

## Geographical Dimensions of Migration

The study investigates mobility and migration patterns from four geographical perspectives.

These perspectives include:

- international and inter-provincial/regional migration;
- far-north/mid-north/south zonal migration;
- on-off reserve migration; and
- migration within the rural/urban hierarchy.

The inter-provincial/regional geography construct is used to explore migration flows between Canada's provinces, regions and territories. Due to small population sizes, data for Newfoundland, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island have been combined to form the Atlantic Region. Similarly, data for Yukon and Northwest Territories are combined to form a Northern Canada region.<sup>5</sup>

The study's north/south zonal geography has been used to examine migration patterns between the far-north, mid-north and southern geographic regions of Canada. In this regard, the study uses an operational definition developed for the Royal

Commission of Aboriginal Peoples by Siggner [1993]. The geographic zones are identified on Figure 2.

Several study components document mobility and migration patterns for on- and off-reserve locations, often in conjunction with other geographic perspectives. Off-reserve locations are further broken down into three groups according to the Census rural/urban definition and by size of the urban centre. These groups include **rural** areas, smaller urban centres (including all urban

centres which are not designated as census metropolitan areas) and large urban centres (including all centres designated as census metropolitan areas [CMA]).<sup>6</sup> In this study, the term **non-CMA** is used to refer to smaller urban centres and the term **CMA** is used to refer to the large urban centres. Some study components also present data and analyses related to specific census metropolitan areas including: Halifax, Montreal, Ottawa-Hull, Toronto, Winnipeg, Regina, Saskatoon, Calgary, Edmonton, Vancouver and Victoria.

**Figure 2:**  
**Boundaries of Far North, Mid-North and Southern Geographic Zones, Canada**



# CHAPTER 3 - MOBILITY AND MIGRATION PATTERNS DURING THE 1986-1991 PERIOD

Existing research concerning the volume and geographic characteristics of Aboriginal mobility and migration in Canada is scarce and fragmentary. Much of what presently exists relates to inter-regional (or inter-provincial) migration flows and is limited in scope to the registered Indian component of the population. Although a few studies have documented Aboriginal in-migrant flows to various on- and off-reserve locations, the existing base of knowledge concerning net migration rates and the geographic patterns of Aboriginal migration *within* specific provinces or regions remains poorly developed.<sup>7</sup>

## Mobility and Migration Rates

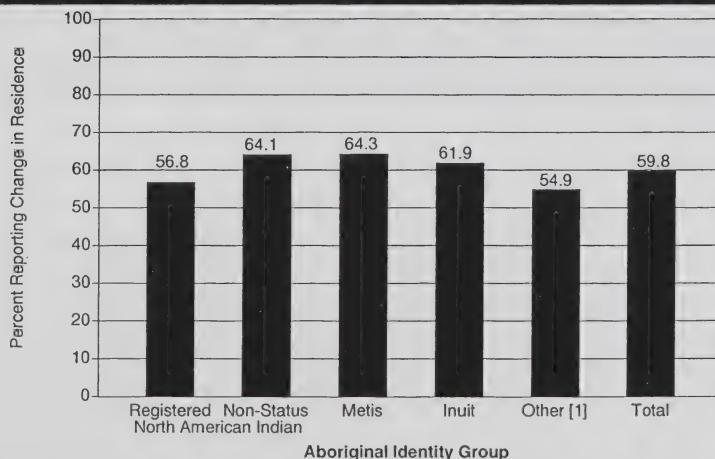
The Aboriginal Peoples Survey estimated the Aboriginal identity population aged 5 or more years to include roughly 537,060 individuals in 1991. Of this population, 321,185 individuals (or 59.8 percent) reported a different residence in

1986 and 1991. The mobility rate of Canada's Aboriginal identity population during the 1986-1991 period was considerably (about 1.3 times) higher than that of the broader Canadian population (46.7 percent).

As revealed in Figure 3, rates of mobility during the 1986-1991 period varied among identity groups, being highest among the Metis (64.3 percent) and non-status Indian (64.1 percent) populations and lowest among the registered Indian (56.8 percent) and other Aboriginal (54.9 percent) populations. Approximately 61.9 percent of Canada's Inuit population reported a residence change during the period.

Although nearly 60 percent of Canada's Aboriginal identity population moved during the period, migrants (i.e. individuals that reported living in a different community in 1986 and 1991) formed only about 36.5 percent of all movers and 21.8 percent of the population aged five or more

**Figure 3:**  
**Proportion of Aboriginal Population Reporting a Change in Residence Between 1986 and 1991**  
by Identity Group, Canada, 1991



Source: Custom tabulations from the Aboriginal Peoples Survey, 1991.

Note: 1. Includes North American Indian population with unknown registration status and population with multiple responses to identity.

years. The migration rate of the Aboriginal identity population was slightly lower than that of the broader Canadian population (23.5 percent) during the period.

As illustrated in Figure 4, migration rates were higher among the Metis, non-status Indian and other Aboriginal populations than among the registered Indian and Inuit populations.

## Inter-provincial Migration

Migration flows both within and between provinces/regions during the period are identified in Table 1 for the Aboriginal identity population. The table reveals that a substantial majority of Aboriginal migration occurs within, as opposed to between, provinces or regions. During the 1986-1991 period, internal provincial/regional migration accounted for more than three-quarters (76.6 percent) of total migration.

An estimated 26,395 Aboriginal individuals moved to a different province/region between 1986 and 1991. Most inter-provincial movement, however, did not result in sizable changes to provincial/regional Aboriginal populations. The net effect of these moves resulted in inter-provincial/regional population shifts of roughly 7,145 individuals or 1.3 percent of the 1991

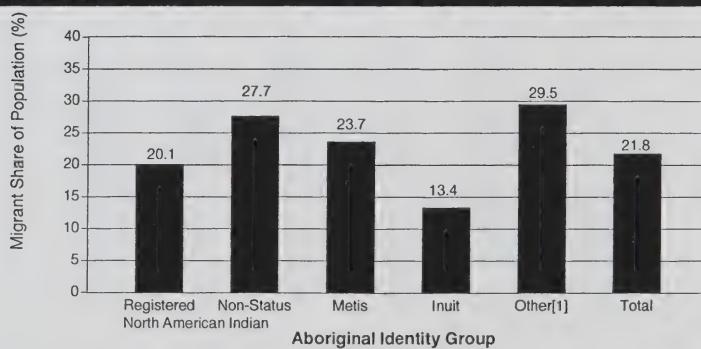
Aboriginal identity population aged 5 or more years.

Only two provinces/regions gained Aboriginal population during the period through the process of inter-provincial migration. Alberta gained an estimated 2,515 individuals and British Columbia gained roughly 1,060 individuals. All other provinces/regions experienced net losses of Aboriginal population through migration, although these losses were significant only in the case of Saskatchewan (1,085 individuals), Manitoba (1,050 individuals), the Atlantic region (695 individuals) and Quebec (560 individuals).

Net migration volumes tend to be small when measured in relation to the size of Aboriginal populations of most provinces/regions at the outset of the period. Net migration rates ranged from +3.0 percent for the Aboriginal population of Alberta to -3.1 percent for the Aboriginal population of the Atlantic region.<sup>8</sup>

Analysis of provincial/regional in-, out-, and net migration volumes for the various Aboriginal identity groups, revealed that the migration patterns of various identity groups tend to be similar to that identified for the total Aboriginal population, as reported above. British Columbia and Alberta accounted for nearly all of the net inter-provincial gains in terms of the registered Indian population. The province of Alberta

**Figure 4:**  
**Migrants as a Proportion of the Total Population Aged 5 or More Years by Aboriginal Identity Group, Canada 1991**



Source: Custom tabulations from the Aboriginal Peoples Survey, 1991.

Note: 1. Includes North American Indian population with unknown registration status and population with multiple responses to identity.

**Table 1:****Migration Flows Within and Between Provinces/Regions, Aboriginal Identity Population, 1986-1991**

Province/Region of Origin	Province/Region of Destination										Total	Net Migrants
	Atlantic Region	Quebec	Ontario	Manitoba	Sask.	Alberta	British Columbia	Northern Canada	Out-Migrants			
Atlantic Region	1885	60	680	85	90	265	275	50	1505	-695		
Quebec	75	6690	830	65	35	190	220	55	1470	-560		
Ontario	470	540	17165	1095	550	905	935	100	4595	-100		
Manitoba	30	25	1035	11080	1255	1365	540	90	4340	-1050		
Saskatchewan	60	25	405	860	12095	2260	750	85	4445	-1085		
Alberta	90	25	845	595	1125	14760	1720	580	4980	+2515		
British Columbia	50	125	445	485	235	1985	19540	360	3685	+1060		
Northern Canada	35	100	255	110	50	530	315	3160	1395	-80		
<b>Total In Migrants<sup>1</sup></b>	<b>810</b>	<b>900</b>	<b>4495</b>	<b>3295</b>	<b>3340</b>	<b>7505</b>	<b>4745</b>	<b>1310</b>	<b>26395</b>	<b>--</b>		

Note:

1. In and out migration volumes may not equal due to rounding error. Totals exclude migration within province/region.

Source: Custom tabulations from the Aboriginal Peoples Survey, 1991.

Excludes 2135 migrants from Indian reserves not enumerated in the 1991 census, 2220 migrants from outside of Canada and 990 individuals with unstated 1986 residence locations.

accounted for a sizable majority of net inter-provincial gains of the Metis population.

### North/South Zonal Migration

In 1991, the Aboriginal Peoples Survey identified the Aboriginal identity populations of the far north, mid-north and southern geographic zones to include 60,720 (9.7 percent), 165,110 (26.4 percent) and 399,875 (63.9 percent) individuals, respectively.

Although a substantial number of Aboriginal individuals changed their community or area of residence within these zones between 1986 and 1991, moves between zones totalled only 21,575, or roughly 19.1 percent of the total volume of Aboriginal migration during the period. Most (nearly 86 percent) inter-zonal migration occurred between the mid-north and southern geographic zones.

Migration between geographic zones resulted in some small shifts in the distribution of the Aboriginal population. The far north gained 340 individuals during the period, representing a net migration rate of roughly 0.7 percent. The southern zone recorded a net increase of 2,210 individuals, also representing a net

migration rate of 0.7 percent. The mid-north zone experienced a net loss of 2,550 individuals during the period (a net migration rate of about -1.8 percent).

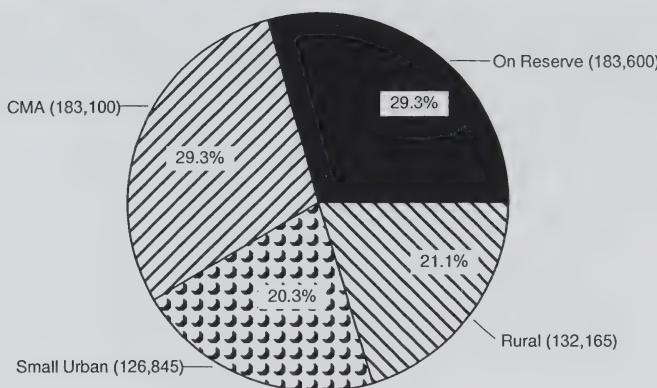
### Migration Within the Rural/Urban Hierarchy

#### Population Distribution

Prior research has identified large volumes of Aboriginal migration between on- and off-reserve locations and between levels of the rural/urban hierarchy. Figure 5 illustrates the distribution of the 1991 Aboriginal identity population (as captured by the Aboriginal Peoples Survey) on- and off-reserve and by level of the rural/urban hierarchy. As revealed in the figure, the proportion of the Aboriginal identity population residing on reserve and in large urban centres was roughly comparable (about 29 percent of the total). The population residing in rural areas and in smaller urban areas accounted for about 21 percent and 20 percent of the total, respectively.

In relation to other identity groups, the non-status Indian and Metis populations represent the most highly urbanized segments of the Aboriginal population. Roughly 69 percent of the non-status

**Figure 5:**  
**Aboriginal Identity Population Showing Distribution by Location of Residence, Canada 1991**



Source: Custom tabulations from the Aboriginal Peoples Survey, 1991. Excludes population residing on non-enumerated Indian reserves.

Indian population and 64.6 percent of the Metis population resided in urban areas. The Inuit population, on the other hand, was most heavily concentrated in rural areas, although a significant portion (16.2 percent) of the population also lived in smaller urban centres. Most of the off-reserve, registered Indian population resided in urban areas, most commonly in larger urban centres.

### Migration Flows

In contrast with the other geographical perspectives explored in this study, migration between, as opposed to within, the different areas within the rural/urban hierarchy accounted for the majority (68.9 percent) of movement during the 1986-1991. The various dimensions of Aboriginal migration during this period are identified in Table 2, which presents the flows within and between the different areas.

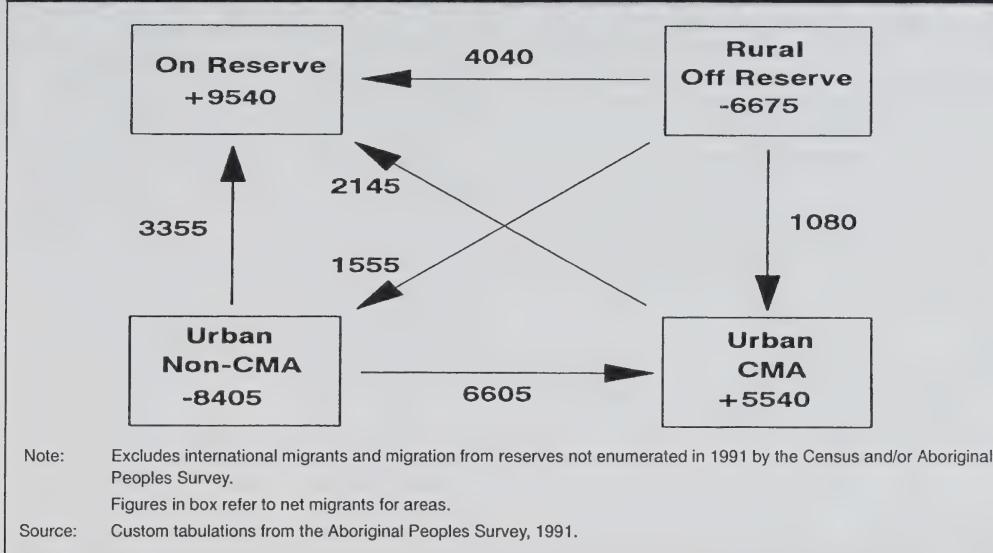
Migration between (i.e. in either direction) small (i.e. non-CMA) and large (i.e. CMA) urban areas represented the most frequent pattern of migration and accounted for 22,935 migrants or 20.3 percent of the total. Moves between rural areas and small urban centres accounted for the second most

common migration flow (19,325 migrants or 17.1 percent of the total). Large migration flows were also identified between large urban centres (i.e. from one CMA to another), between rural areas and large urban centres, and between small urban centres (i.e. from one small centre to another).

Significant levels of migration between on- and off-reserve locations also occurred during the period. The largest flows involved migration between reserves and small urban centres. Migration between reserves represented a minor dimension of Aboriginal migration (only 1,525 individuals or 1.4 percent of all moves during the period). Migration within rural areas also formed a small component of Aboriginal migration during the period.

### Net Migration Flows

Figure 6 provides a summary of the net migration flows between various geographic areas during the period. Indian reserves gained population from all other geographic zones during the 1986-1991. This gain, which totalled 9,540 individuals, included 4,040 individuals from rural areas,

**Figure 6:****Summary of Net Migration Flows Between On- and Off-Reserve Locations During the 1986-1991 Period, Aboriginal Identity Population, Canada**

3,355 individuals from small urban centres and 2,145 individuals from large urban centres. The net migration rate for reserves during the 1986-1991 period was 6.4 percent. Large urban centres also gained Aboriginal population through migration during the period. This gain, which totalled 5,540 individuals occurred as a result of net movement from both smaller urban centres and rural areas. For the period, large urban centres posted a net migration rate of roughly 3.6 percent.

Smaller urban centres experienced a net loss of 8,405 individuals (corresponding to a net migration rate of -7.2 percent) during the period. Most of this loss was attributable to moves from these centres to large urban areas, although small urban centres also recorded a sizable net loss of population to reserves. Rural areas lost Aboriginal population to all other geographic areas during the period. The largest component of this loss occurred through migration to Indian reserves. The net migration rate associated with rural areas was -5.6 percent.

**Migration Patterns by Aboriginal Group**

The migration patterns of the registered Indian population closely approximate the patterns identified for the total Aboriginal population. During the period, Indian reserves experienced a net gain in population (9,230 individuals) as a result of net inflows of registered Indian migrants from all other areas. Large urban areas also experienced net population increases (3,855 individuals) as a result of migration from rural areas and small urban centres. Both rural areas (-9,005 individuals) and small urban centres (-4,080 individuals) recorded net losses in registered Indians as a consequence of migration.

Migration flows among the non-status Indian population resulted in increases in rural areas (1,695 individuals), on reserve (105 individuals) and large urban areas (75 individuals). The non-status Indian population of smaller urban centres experienced a net loss of 1,875 individuals during the period, largely as a result of movement to large urban areas and rural areas.

Migration among Canada's Metis population was generally similar to that identified for non-status Indians. The Metis on-reserve population experienced a small net gain (190 individuals), primarily through the movement of individuals from rural areas. The rural Metis population gained 1,015 individuals as a consequence of movement from urban centres. The most significant population shift involved the movement of Metis from small to large urban centres, which contributed to a net gain of 1,455 individuals to the Metis population residing in large urban areas. The population residing in smaller urban areas recorded a net loss of 2,660 individuals during the period through migration.

Movements among Canada's Inuit population resulted in only small changes in the geographical distribution of the population. Migration among this group resulted in loss of 165 individuals in rural areas, and increases of 125 and 40 individuals in small and large urban centres, respectively. Inuit migration did not result in changes to the population residing on reserve during the time period.

## **Migration Patterns of C-31 Registrants**

Among other things, the 1985 amendments to the Indian Act restored the right to Indian status to a large number of individuals who had lost status as a consequence of provisions contained in earlier versions of the Act.<sup>9</sup> Although the full effects of the amendments of the 1985 Act on the size of the registered Indian population have not been fully realized, roughly 87,000 individuals had been added to the population as of 1991, as a consequence of the Act's new registration provisions. Between 1985 and 1991, Canada's registered Indian population experienced an increase of roughly 21 percent as a result of Bill C-31 registrants. Although some research on the impacts of Bill C-31 has been conducted, very little is known about the mobility and migration patterns of this segment of the registered Indian

population. During the 1985-1991 period, however, several First Nations expressed concern about the impact of Bill-31 migration on reserve housing availability and resources.

Analysis reported above, identified a net migration to Indian reserves of about 9,230 registered Indians during the 1986-1991 period. Between 1986 and 1991, on-reserve locations experienced a net growth of approximately 2,005 individuals through the movement of individuals registered under Bill C-31. This represented about 20.5 percent of the total net migration of registered Indians to reserves during the period.

The contribution of the Bill C-31 population to net migration to Indian reserves varied widely by province/region. The "C-31" share of net migration to Indian reserves exceeded the national average by a sizable margin in the provinces of Ontario (33.1 percent), Quebec (28.3 percent) and British Columbia (26.6 percent). By way of contrast, the C-31 population played a minor role in net migration to reserves in the provinces of Saskatchewan (7.5 percent) and Alberta (4.8 percent).

Provincial/regional differences in the C-31 share of registered Indian net migration to reserves are only partially accounted for by provincial/regional differences in the relative size of the C-31 and "regular" Indian populations (see Table 3). With the exception of Saskatchewan and Alberta, the C-31 share of net migration roughly approximates the C-31 share of the total registered Indian population. In Saskatchewan, the C-31 population accounted for 13.5 percent of total registered Indian population but only 7.5 percent of registered Indian net migration to reserves. In Alberta, the C-31 population represented 26.4 percent of the total registered Indian population, but only 4.8 percent of registered Indian net migration to reserves.<sup>10</sup> In both Alberta and Saskatchewan, C-31 migration represented only a minor component of the net migration of registered Indians to reserves.

**Table 2:****Migration Volumes Showing Origin-Destination Combinations, Aboriginal Identity Population, Canada, 1986-1991**

Origin or Destination Location	Migrants	% of Total Migrants
On-Reserve - On-Reserve	1525	1.4
On-Reserve - Rural Areas	5530	4.9
On-Reserve - Urban Non-CMA	8535	7.6
On-Reserve - Urban CMA	6565	5.8
Rural Areas - Rural Areas	5850	5.2
Rural Areas - Urban Non-CMA	19325	17.1
Rural Areas - Urban CMA	14850	13.2
Urban Non-CMA - Urban Non-CMA	12190	10.8
Urban Non-CMA - Urban CMA	22935	20.3
Urban CMA - Urban CMA	15460	13.7
<b>Total Migrants<sup>1</sup></b>	<b>112765</b>	<b>100.0</b>
Note:	Source: Custom tabulations from the Aboriginal Peoples Survey, 1991.	
1. Excludes international in-migrants and migrants from non-enumerated Indian reserves.		
Migrant volumes refer to flows between the locations noted, regardless of the direction of the flow.		

**Table 3:****Comparison of C-31 Share of Net Migrants to Reserves With C-31 Share of Total Registered Indian Population, Canada, 1991**

Province/Region of Residence	C-31 Share of		Ratio A/B
	A Net Migrants	B Population	
Atlantic Region	18.4	19.8	0.93
Quebec	28.3	26.1	1.08
Ontario	33.1	35.5	0.93
Manitoba	18.4	23.8	0.77
Saskatchewan	7.5	13.5	0.56
Alberta	4.8	26.4	0.18
British Columbia	26.6	33.4	0.80
Northern Canada	NA	35.7	—
Total	20.5	27.2	0.75
Source:	Custom tabulations from the Aboriginal Peoples Survey, 1991. Excludes population residing on non-enumerated Indian reserves.		

## CHAPTER 4 - MIGRANT DEMOGRAPHIC AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC CHARACTERISTICS

A large number of existing research studies have examined various aspects of the demographic and socio-economic characteristics of Aboriginal migrants. Most of these studies, however, have focussed on migrants to various urban areas. Although conducted in differing communities over the course of relatively long time-frames, existing studies have produced quite similar findings concerning the characteristics of Aboriginal migrants and their motivations for migration. The main conclusions that have emerged from existing studies include the following:

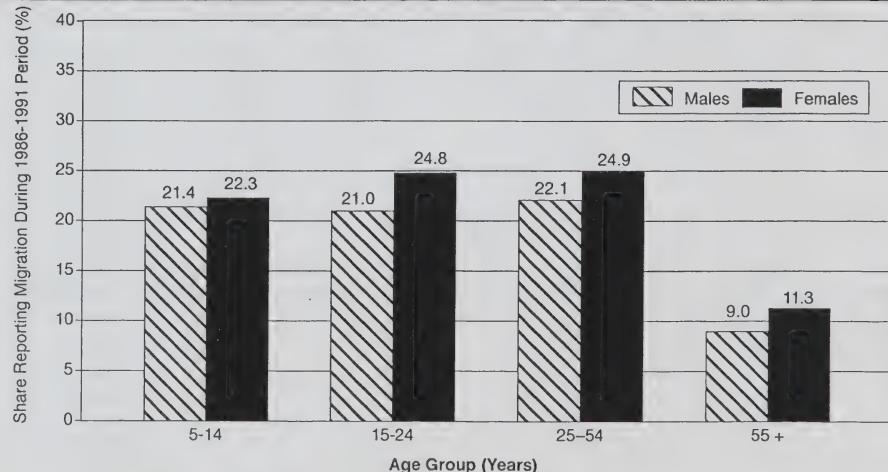
- females tend to be more common than males among migrants to urban areas;
- the migrant population tends to be younger and includes large numbers of families in the earlier stages of family development (i.e. families with younger children);

- stated reasons for migration differ between males and females. Males are more likely to move in pursuit of better employment opportunities (pull factors), while females are more likely to move for family reasons or in response to social problems in their prior community (push factors);
- in relation to Aboriginal non-migrants, migrants tend to possess more formal education and are more likely to be active in the labour market.<sup>11</sup>

### Age and Gender Characteristics

Data from the Aboriginal Peoples Survey concerning the age and gender composition of migrants during the 1986-1991 period are consistent with the results of earlier research. As revealed in Figure 7, the probability of migrating is highest among the population aged 15-54 years and higher among females than males for all age

**Figure 7:**  
**Proportion of Aboriginal Identity Population Migrating to a Different Community During the 1986-1991 Period by Age and Gender Group, Canada, 1991**



Note: Data reported for migration during the 1986-1991 period relate to the population aged 5 or more years in 1991.  
Source: Custom tabulations from the Aboriginal Peoples Survey, 1991.

groups. Females also formed the majority of migrants among all Aboriginal identity groups and among migrants to both on- and off-reserve locations.

## Family Status and Household Composition

Aboriginal Peoples Survey data concerning the census family status of migrants and non-migrants sheds some light on the household composition of Aboriginal migrants (see Table 4). Although family persons (i.e. individuals who are members of a primary family unit) comprise a sizable majority of both the migrant and non-migrant population, some important differences in the family composition of migrant and non-migrants are suggested by the data. For example, children form a smaller share of migrants than non-migrants, in spite of the fact that spouses (i.e. married individuals with or without children) and lone parents are more common among the migrant population. This situation, which is common to all identity groups and all residence locations, suggests that differences in the stages of family development exist between migrants and non-migrants. Younger families in earlier stages of family development (and hence with fewer children) appear to be more common among migrants.

The data also reveal that the migrant population contains a larger concentration of lone parent families. More detailed analysis, contained in the main report, reveals that concentrations of lone parents are most pronounced among migrants to urban areas, especially larger urban areas.

## School Attendance and Education Levels

Moving for purposes of attending school represents one of many possible reasons for Aboriginal migration. As illustrated in Figure 8, migrants were considerably more likely than non-migrants to be attending school (27 percent compared to 21 percent). Higher rates of school attendance were reported among migrants to all residence locations.

The higher incidence of school attendance among migrants is not attributable to age differences between the migrant and non-migrant populations. Increased levels of school attendance were found to be most characteristic of migrants aged 25 or more years. Among this age group, roughly 16.2 percent of migrants reported attending school compared to only 9.2 percent of non-migrants. Higher rates of attendance among migrants than non-migrants were also found to exist for all identity groups, however the attendance rates of migrants varied widely among identity groups

**Table 4:**  
**Aboriginal Identity Population Aged 5 or More Years Showing Census Family Status by Migration Status, Canada, 1991**

Census Family Status	1986-1991 Migration Status					
	Non-Migrants	%	Migrants	%	Total	%
<b>Non-Family Persons</b>	<b>59770</b>	<b>14.4</b>	<b>18945</b>	<b>16.3</b>	<b>78715</b>	<b>14.8</b>
Not related to family	33280	8.0	13240	11.4	46520	8.8
Related to Family	25950	6.3	5700	4.9	31650	6.0
<b>Family Persons</b>	<b>355055</b>	<b>85.6</b>	<b>97085</b>	<b>83.7</b>	<b>452140</b>	<b>85.2</b>
Spouse	152355	36.7	45470	39.2	197825	37.3
Lone parent	29405	7.1	10615	9.1	40020	7.5
Male	4360	1.1	885	0.8	5245	1.0
Female	25050	6.0	9725	8.4	34775	6.6
Child	173295	41.8	41005	35.3	214300	40.4
<b>Total</b>	<b>414825</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>116030</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>530855</b>	<b>100.0</b>
Note:	Excludes 6,745 individuals with unstated census family status.			Source:	Custom tabulations from the Aboriginal Peoples Survey, 1991.	

(ranging from a high of 18.1 percent for registered Indian migrants to a low of 7.0 percent among Inuit migrants). Gender differences in rates of attendance among migrants were found to be quite small.

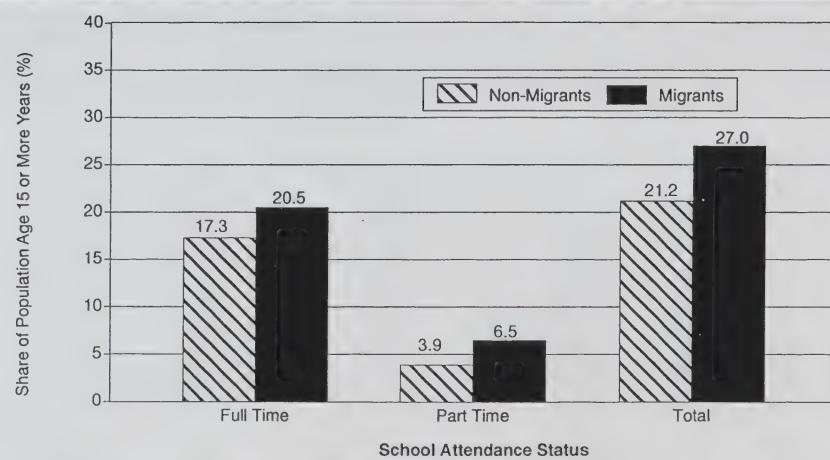
Data concerning the highest level of schooling achieved by Aboriginal migrants and non-migrants (Table 5) reveal that regardless of location, the formal education levels of the migrant population are considerably higher than those of the non-migrant population. Across all locations, roughly 55 percent of migrants had completed high school and/or undertaken post-secondary education. By way of comparison, roughly 39 percent of the non-migrant population had achieved this education level. In-migrants to off-reserve locations, especially larger urban areas, were more likely to possess higher levels of education than migrants to reserves, a situation which suggests that the migration process contributes to a widening of the education gap between the populations residing on and off reserve.

High school completion and/or post-secondary training was most common among non-status Indian migrants (67 percent). Individuals with high school certificates or post-secondary training accounted for 56, 51 and 47 percent of the Metis, registered Indian and Inuit migrant populations, respectively

## Labour Force Participation Rates

Figure 9, which provides a summary of labour force participation rates for selected age groups within the Aboriginal migrant and non-migrant population, illustrates that participation rates are higher among migrants than non-migrants among both youth (i.e. 15-24 years of age) and older individuals (25 or more years of age).<sup>12</sup> Higher labour force participation rates among migrants were reported for both gender groups, all identity groups and at all residence locations. These results, which suggest the pursuit of employment opportunities is a common motivating factor in the process of Aboriginal migration, are consistent with the results of several prior studies of Aboriginal migration.

**Figure 8:**  
**Aboriginal Identity Population Aged 15 or More Years Showing Proportion Attending School by Full/Part Time Attendance Status and Migration Status, Canada, 1991**



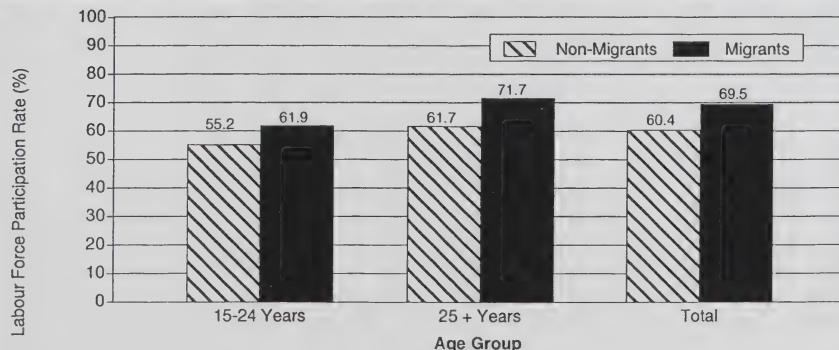
Note: Excludes population residing on non-enumerated Indian reserves.

Source: Custom tabulations from the Aboriginal Peoples Survey, 1991.

**Table 5:****Aboriginal Identity Population Aged 15 or More Years and Not Attending School Showing Highest Level of Schooling by Migration Status and Location of Residence, Canada, 1991**

Highest Level of Schooling	1986-1991 Migration Status					
	Non-Migrants	%	Migrants	%	Total	%
Residing On Reserve	84800	100.0	10350	100.0	95150	100.0
Less than grade 9	38100	44.9	2585	25.0	40685	42.8
Grade 9-13 Without Sec. Cert.	23115	27.3	3120	30.1	26235	27.6
Grade 9-13 With Sec. Cert.	3825	4.5	550	5.3	4375	4.6
Some post-secondary	19760	23.3	4095	39.6	23855	25.1
Residing in Rural Areas	52545	100.0	14360	100.0	66905	100.0
Less than grade 9	18870	35.9	2255	15.7	21125	31.6
Grade 9-13 Without Sec. Cert.	13840	26.3	4505	31.4	18345	27.4
Grade 9-13 With Sec. Cert.	4955	9.4	1495	10.4	6450	9.6
Some post-secondary	14880	28.3	6105	42.5	20985	31.4
Residing in Non-CMA Areas	43345	100.0	18220	100.0	61565	100.0
Less than grade 9	9575	22.1	2580	14.2	12155	19.7
Grade 9-13 Without Sec. Cert.	14355	33.1	5690	31.2	20045	32.6
Grade 9-13 With Sec. Cert.	4945	11.4	1840	10.1	6785	11.0
Some post-secondary	14470	33.4	8110	44.5	22580	36.7
Residing in CMA Areas	69520	100.0	24460	100.0	93980	100.0
Less than grade 9	10820	15.6	2385	9.8	13205	14.1
Grade 9-13 Without Sec. Cert.	23930	34.4	6920	28.3	30850	32.8
Grade 9-13 With Sec. Cert.	8545	12.3	2370	9.7	10915	11.6
Some post-secondary	26225	37.7	12785	52.3	39010	41.5
Total All Areas	250210	100.0	67390	100.0	317600	100.0
Less than grade 9	77365	30.9	9805	14.5	87170	27.4
Grade 9-13 Without Sec. Cert.	75240	30.1	20235	30.0	95475	30.1
Grade 9-13 With Sec. Cert.	22270	8.9	6255	9.3	28525	9.0
Some post-secondary	75335	30.1	31095	46.1	106430	33.5

Source: Custom tabulations from the Aboriginal Peoples Survey, 1991.

**Figure 9:****Aboriginal Identity Population Aged 15 or More Years Showing Labour Force Participation Rates by Age Group and Migration Status, Canada, 1991**

Note: Excludes population residing on non-enumerated Indian reserves.

Excludes population attending school full time.

Source: Custom tabulations from the Aboriginal Peoples Survey 1991.

## Unemployment Rates

Although labour force participation data suggest that Aboriginal migrants are more likely than non-migrants to be active in the labour force, higher unemployment rates characterize the migrant population.<sup>13</sup> Although differences between migrants and non-migrants were not large at the aggregate level (26.4 percent compared to 24.1 percent among non-inigrants), several sub-groups within the migrant population experienced much higher rates of unemployment than their non-migrant counterparts. These sub-groups included older individuals (25 or more years of age), females from all identity groups and at all residence locations, and males migrating to reserves or to urban areas. Significantly lower unemployment rates among migrants were reported for only two sub-groups, youth (15-24 years of age) and males residing in rural areas. Within the Aboriginal migrant population, levels of unemployment tended to be highest

among youth, on reserve and in urban areas.

## Weeks Worked in 1990

Table 6, which summarizes the distribution of the migrant and non-migrant Aboriginal identity population by number of weeks worked in 1990, reveals that in terms of this dimension of labour market behaviour, little difference exists between the migrant and non-migrant populations. Roughly 56 percent of the migrant population reported 40 or more weeks of employment in 1990 compared to roughly 57 percent of the non-migrant population. In relation to non-migrants, migrants were slightly less likely to work 40 or more weeks in 1990 in all locations, except rural areas. Employment for 40 or more weeks in 1990 was least common among migrants to reserves (roughly 40 percent of all migrants to reserve) and most common among migrants to larger urban areas (61 percent of all migrants to larger urban areas).

**Table 6:**

**Aboriginal Population Aged 15 or More Years and Not Attending School Full-Time Showing Weeks Worked in 1990 by Migration Status and Identity Group, Canada, 1991**

Weeks Worked in 1990	Recent Migration Status					
	Non-Migrants	%	Migrants	%	Total	%
Registered Indian	77725	100.0	21020	100.0	98745	100.0
1-26 Weeks	28585	36.8	8130	38.7	36715	37.2
27-39 Weeks	7415	9.5	2095	10.0	9510	9.6
40 + Weeks	41735	53.7	10795	51.4	52530	53.2
Non-Status Indian	22695	100.0	10250	100.0	32945	100.0
1-26 Weeks	4835	21.3	2640	25.8	7475	22.7
27-39 Weeks	2786	12.3	1315	12.8	4101	12.4
40 + Weeks	15160	66.8	6300	61.5	21460	65.1
Metis	32545	100.0	11030	100.0	43575	100.0
1-26 Weeks	9735	29.9	3170	28.7	12905	29.6
27-39 Weeks	3310	10.2	1520	13.8	4830	11.1
40 + Weeks	19500	59.9	6335	57.4	25835	59.3
Inuit	41990	100.0	1585	100.0	43575	100.0
1-26 Weeks	12350	29.4	555	35.0	12905	29.6
27-39 Weeks	4730	11.3	100	6.3	4830	11.1
40 + Weeks	24905	59.3	930	58.7	25835	59.3
Total Aboriginal	145750	100.0	45445	100.0	191195	100.0
1-26 Weeks	48375	33.2	14995	33.0	63370	33.1
27-39 Weeks	14375	9.9	5225	11.5	19600	10.3
40 + Weeks	82940	56.9	25225	55.5	108165	56.6

Source: Custom tabulations from the Aboriginal Peoples Survey, 1991.

## Employment Earnings

Data concerning the average employment earnings of Aboriginal migrants and non-migrants in 1990 are presented in Table 7. To partially control for the effects of differences in duration of employment, the data are structured by number of weeks worked. The data revealed that with the exception of non-status Indians, migrants reported higher average employment earnings than non-migrants. In the case of individuals working 40 or more weeks in 1990, migrants from all identity groups reported higher earnings than non-migrants. These findings suggest that in relation to their non-migrant counterparts, Aboriginal migrants obtained higher paying jobs, a finding consistent with the higher levels of formal

education reported for the migrant, as opposed to non-migrant, population.

## Reasons For Migration

The Aboriginal Peoples Survey collected information from recent migrants concerning their reasons for migration. Data presented in this report relates to the population aged 15 or more years that moved to a different community during the 12 month period prior to the survey. Due to the small size of the APS sample, analysis of data on the reasons for recent migration between specific origin-destination areas (e.g. from reserve to the urban areas) could not be undertaken. Data presented in the report are limited to in-migrants to on- and off-reserve locations.

**Table 7:**  
**Aboriginal Population Aged 15 or More Years and Not Attending School Full-Time Showing Average Employment Earnings in 1990 by Weeks Worked, Migration Status and Identity Group, Canada, 1991**

Weeks Worked in 1990	1990 Employment Income (\$)				Total
	Non-Migrants	Migrants	Migrant/Non-Migrant		
Registered Indian	15469	16980	1.10	15791	
1-26 Weeks	6192	6554	1.06	6272	
27-39 Weeks	12526	15119	1.21	13097	
40 + Weeks	22344	25197	1.13	22930	
Non-Status Indian	21491	20025	0.93	21035	
1-26 Weeks	7665	6694	0.87	7322	
27-39 Weeks	15893	12686	0.80	14865	
40 + Weeks	26775	27415	1.02	26963	
Metis	18281	19017	1.04	18467	
1-26 Weeks	8176	6988	0.85	7884	
27-39 Weeks	13439	21675	1.61	16031	
40 + Weeks	24145	24401	1.01	24208	
Inuit	15174	19054	1.26	15690	
1-26 Weeks	5520	7713	1.40	5756	
27-39 Weeks	13892	14044	1.01	13910	
40 + Weeks	24266	26442	1.09	24068	
Total Aboriginal	17091	18252	1.07	17367	
1-26 Weeks	6708	6856	1.02	6743	
27-39 Weeks	13534	16032	1.18	14200	
40 + Weeks	23765	25488	1.07	24167	

Source: Custom tabulations from the Aboriginal Peoples Survey, 1991.

As revealed in Table 8, four reasons were cited most frequently by migrants, including family-related reasons (32 percent of respondents), to improve housing conditions (19 percent), to access or improve employment (18 percent), and to access schooling or education (11 percent). These four factors were cited more frequently than others among in-migrants to reserves, as well as migrants to off-reserve locations, however, the relative importance of the factors differed between destination areas. In-migrants to reserves were more likely than those to off-reserve locations to identify family-related matters as reason for migration and less likely to identify improvements in housing conditions or employment. Migrants to off-reserve locations were nearly twice as likely to identify employment-related reasons as migrants to reserves.

In general, reasons cited for migration to reserves did not differ greatly by gender group. Among migrants to off-reserve locations, males were much more likely to identify employment reasons (23 percent compared to 17 percent for females),

while females were much more likely to identify community-related reasons (11 percent compared to 2 percent for males). Gender differences identified in this study are generally similar to those reported in prior research.

### In-Migrants to Major Urban Areas

Additional analyses of migrant demographic and socio-economic characteristics have been undertaken for the Aboriginal ancestry population that moved to select major urban areas during the 1986-1991 period.<sup>14</sup> These analyses, which focus on household level characteristics confirm that families with children formed a large component of the migrant Aboriginal populations to Canada's major urban areas. In the case of Winnipeg, Regina, Saskatoon and Edmonton, families with children accounted for the majority of migrant households. In relation to the non-migrant population, lone parent families were more common among the migrant population in all centres and formed a majority of all migrant families residing in Winnipeg, Saskatoon and Regina.

Reason for Move	Migrant Destination					
	On-Reserve	%	Off-Reserve	%	Total	%
Family related reasons	1045	41.8	3425	30.1	4465	32.2
Community factors	165	6.6	860	7.6	1030	7.4
Access to Schooling	270	10.8	1300	11.4	1570	11.3
Access to employment	260	10.4	2240	19.7	2510	18.1
Health related reasons	50	2.0	280	2.5	330	2.4
Housing unit available	210	8.4	315	2.8	530	3.8
Improve housing conditions	385	15.4	2220	19.5	2605	18.8
Forced to move	100	4.0	580	5.1	700	5.0
Other reasons	35	1.4	125	1.1	160	1.2
Total Respondents <sup>1</sup>	2500	100.8	11390	99.6	13880	100.1
Note:	Source: Custom tabulations from the Aboriginal Peoples Survey, 1991.					
1. Totals may not sum due to rounding error.						
Excludes migrants to non-enumerated Indian reserves.						

Although Aboriginal migrants to major urban areas possessed higher levels of education and were more likely than non-migrants to be actively participating in the labour market, migrants experienced higher levels of unemployment than non-migrants. Reflecting their greater difficulties in the labour market, average incomes of Aboriginal migrants lagged those of non-migrants by a wide margin in all of the major centres. Aboriginal in-migrants to major urban areas were

more likely than non-migrants to report incomes below the Statistics Canada low income cut-off, especially in major Prairie urban areas. In Winnipeg, Regina, Saskatoon and Edmonton, a majority of Aboriginal migrant households reported incomes below the low income cut-off. Not surprisingly, high rates of transfer payment dependency were also characteristic of Aboriginal migrants to these centres.

# **CHAPTER 5 - RESIDENTIAL MOBILITY AND HOUSING CONSUMPTION PATTERNS IN MAJOR URBAN AREAS**

## **Residential Mobility Patterns**

The issue of residential mobility has been largely unexplored for Canada's Aboriginal population.<sup>15</sup> Although prior research has provided some general estimates of residential mobility rates, a more detailed analysis of residential mobility and the housing circumstances of recent Aboriginal movers appears to exist only for the city of Winnipeg.

Analyses presented in this section of the report focus on patterns of residential mobility and housing consumption in selected major urban areas. With the exception of data pertaining to reasons for moving (which derive from the APS and relate to the Aboriginal identity population) all data presented in this section derive from the 1991 Census of Canada and relate to the population that reported Aboriginal ethnic origins (i.e. the Aboriginal ancestry population).<sup>16</sup> Readers are reminded that this population contains individuals who did not identify with an Aboriginal group on the APS.

Much of the data are presented at the household level. Household ethnic origin and household mobility status are based on the characteristics of the primary household maintainer.<sup>17</sup> Unless otherwise noted, residential mobility rates are referenced in terms of the 1986-1991 period and exclude the migrant population.<sup>18</sup>

Table 9 presents estimates of residential mobility rates among various household types for the Aboriginal populations residing in selected major urban centres. As expected, mobility rates were higher among non-family, as opposed to the family, households in all centres. Among Aboriginal families, residential mobility rates were highest for lone parent families, especially in Edmonton, Saskatoon, Winnipeg and Regina. In these centres, roughly 80 percent of all Aboriginal lone parent families moved between 1986 and 1991, a rate of mobility which exceeded that of non-families.

Residential mobility rates among Aboriginal households exceeded those of non-Aboriginal households by a wide margin in all of the urban centres examined in the study. Higher rates of Aboriginal, as opposed to non-Aboriginal, mobility were most characteristic of Regina, Winnipeg and Saskatoon. In these centres, Aboriginal households were roughly 1.8 times more likely to have moved between 1986 and 1991 than non-Aboriginal households. Higher rates of residential mobility among Aboriginal households were identified for all household types in all urban areas studied.

Prior research has clearly identified that residential mobility is most frequently linked to the household's efforts to improve or adjust housing circumstances. Although data from the APS concerning the reasons for changing residences were not available for individual urban areas, data aggregated for Toronto, Winnipeg, Regina, Saskatoon, Calgary, Edmonton and Vancouver confirm the importance of housing-related issues to residential mobility. Moves to improve housing conditions accounted for 51 percent of all moves made within these centres. An additional 8 percent of moves was attributed to the availability of a housing unit. Involuntary or forced moves (e.g. fire, eviction) were reported by roughly 9 percent of all movers. In relation to these factors, neighbourhood issues and issues related to accessibility (to employment or schooling) were cited much less frequently.

## **Housing Circumstances**

Prior studies of Aboriginal housing circumstances have served to reveal that the Aboriginal population represents one of the most poorly housed segments of Canadian society and experiences housing consumption deficiencies at levels which greatly exceed those of the non-Aboriginal population. Poor housing conditions have been found to exist among the

**Table 9:****Aboriginal Ancestry Households Showing Rate of Residential Mobility During the 1986-1991 Period, Selected Census Metropolitan Areas, Canada, 1991**

Household Type	Place of Residence										
	Halifax	Montreal	Ottawa/Hull	Toronto	Winnipeg	Regina	Saskatoon	Calgary	Edmonton	Vancouver	Victoria
Multiple Family Households	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Total One Family Households	51.5	47.5	47.9	43.5	70.6	69.8	69.0	66.9	67.0	58.9	59.5
Total Lone Parent Families	65.3	57.8	59.3	49.7	79.9	78.8	80.6	73.2	81.5	68.4	72.7
Male Lone Parent	—	51.2	19.2	50.0	58.9	—	—	—	—	61.5	55.6
Female Lone Parent	65.2	58.7	64.4	49.5	81.9	79.0	81.5	72.8	82.4	69.1	75.4
Total Two Parent Families	46.9	44.3	44.5	41.0	64.6	63.3	60.7	64.5	58.4	55.0	53.8
With Children at Home	42.7	38.1	43.1	37.8	62.5	66.7	55.7	63.5	57.7	52.5	55.2
Without Children at Home	57.1	55.7	47.0	46.3	70.4	50.9	74.2	66.3	59.9	59.0	52.2
Total Non-family Households	78.8	61.1	63.5	53.4	75.1	71.2	78.4	74.3	75.6	67.2	65.6
One Person Non-Families	80.0	60.6	61.9	48.9	72.0	70.8	76.8	74.1	74.5	63.6	62.1
Males	—	64.1	68.7	53.9	77.6	75.0	85.4	78.2	73.3	64.0	77.3
Females	79.2	57.8	57.8	44.9	67.4	67.9	70.3	69.9	75.8	63.3	46.5
Two-Person Non-Families	75.0	63.2	69.5	70.9	84.7	72.7	85.2	74.7	78.7	78.3	74.3
Total Households	56.9	52.3	51.9	47.0	71.8	70.1	71.7	68.7	69.4	62.0	61.6

Source: Custom tabulations from the 1991 Census of Canada.

Aboriginal populations residing both on and off reserve and in both rural and urban areas.

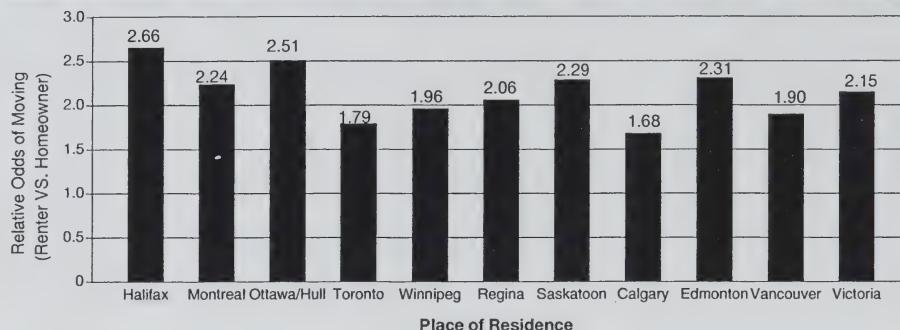
Very little research exists by way of comparative research on the housing conditions of Aboriginal movers and stayers. Changing one's residence is often the means of adjusting housing consumption to changes in needs and resources. Analysis of the housing circumstances of Aboriginal movers and stayers provides an opportunity to gain some insights into the relationship between residential mobility and Aboriginal housing conditions.

## Housing Stock Characteristics

The study considers four dimensions of the housing stock occupied by Aboriginal households: tenure, rent levels, period of construction and structure type.

### Tenure

Rates of home ownership among Aboriginal households varied widely across urban areas. Aboriginal households residing in Ottawa-Hull reported the highest rate of ownership (41.5 percent), a rate considerably higher than that

**Figure 10:****Relative Odds of Aboriginal (Renter Versus Homeowner) Household Moving During the 1986-1991 Period, Selected Census Metropolitan Areas, Canada, 1991**

Source: Custom tabulations from the 1991 Census of Canada.

of all other centres. Home ownership rates were lowest among Aboriginal households in Saskatoon (22.1 percent), Winnipeg, (22.6 percent), Regina (22.7 percent), Edmonton (24.9 percent) and Vancouver (25.6 percent). Home ownership rates among Aboriginal households in all other centres ranged from 30.9 to 33.5 percent).

Substantial variations in home ownership rates were also found to exist among types of Aboriginal households. Although varying across urban centres, rates of home ownership tended to be much higher among two parent families, especially those with children at home. Home ownership rates were especially low among lone parent families residing in major Prairie centres. In Winnipeg, Regina, Saskatoon and Edmonton, less than 10 percent of all lone parent families owned their dwelling unit, a level lower than that of not only two parent families, but also non-family households.

As illustrated in Figure 10, the mobility rates of Aboriginal renters were considerably higher than those of homeowners in all locations. Although the size of mobility rate differentials varied considerably by household type, in most urban areas renters were roughly 2 to 3 times more likely to move than homeowners. The higher mobility rates identified among Aboriginal renters are consistent with the results of numerous prior

studies of residential mobility among the non-Aboriginal population.<sup>19</sup>

#### Rent Levels

Data concerning the rent levels of dwellings occupied by Aboriginal households provide an opportunity to examine, at least at a general level, the price markets in which Aboriginal movers and non-movers are consuming housing. Table 10 shows the distribution of Aboriginal movers and non-movers by rent level category. Although substantial variations in the distributions exist among urban areas (reflecting differences among the centres in the rental price structures of the housing stock), Aboriginal movers tend to occupy dwellings of higher cost than non-movers in most urban areas.

The rent distributions of movers and non-movers also imply that mobility rates tend to be lower for Aboriginal households consuming housing in the lowest rent segments of market. This pattern, which exists in all urban areas studied, is interesting and may result from several factors, including higher levels of residential stability among households occupying low rental, subsidized housing or from financial barriers (e.g. low incomes) which limit the opportunity for some households to move to higher quality, more costly units. Data needed to further explore these issues were not available to this study.

**Table 10:****Aboriginal Households Showing Distribution of Rented Dwellings by Rent Level and 1986-1991 Mobility Status. Selected Census Metropolitan Areas, Canada, 1991**

Rent Level	Place of Residence										
	Halifax	Montreal	Ottawa/ Hull	Toronto	Winnipeg	Regina	Saskatoon	Calgary	Edmonton	Vancouver	Victoria
<b>Non-Movers</b>	200	2635	1045	2560	1505	385	280	555	935	1610	230
% < \$300	20.0	15.6	21.1	17.8	27.6	22.1	25.0	15.3	12.8	18.6	15.2
% \$300-\$424	20.0	33.8	14.8	10.0	27.9	28.6	26.8	12.6	23.0	11.5	4.3
% \$425-\$549	32.5	33.2	19.6	22.3	25.9	23.4	25.0	24.3	31.6	20.2	32.6
% \$550-\$674	17.5	8.3	18.7	26.0	13.0	20.8	17.9	21.6	14.4	26.4	23.9
% \$675-\$799	0.0	3.4	13.9	10.0	4.0	3.9	3.6	18.9	11.8	12.7	8.7
% \$800 or more	7.5	5.7	11.5	13.5	1.7	2.6	3.6	7.2	6.4	10.6	13.0
<b>Non-Migrant Movers</b>	585	4945	2695	3170	6790	1615	1635	2330	4630	4080	810
% < \$300	19.7	8.7	11.5	12.1	18.7	9.6	14.7	5.2	9.3	12.1	11.7
% \$300-\$424	11.1	27.3	11.5	3.8	35.9	31.9	35.2	15.5	22.7	12.9	13.6
% \$425-\$549	24.8	36.2	26.3	18.3	27.2	31.6	29.4	30.7	31.2	16.1	23.5
% \$550-\$674	30.8	16.5	24.3	15.1	12.0	17.6	13.1	24.2	21.3	22.2	17.9
% \$675-\$799	6.8	5.8	14.3	15.1	4.7	5.6	6.1	14.6	9.2	16.1	13.0
% \$800 or more	6.8	5.5	12.4	35.6	1.5	3.7	1.8	10.5	6.4	20.7	19.8

Source: Custom tabulations from the 1991 Census of Canada.

**Table 11:****Aboriginal Households Showing Period of Construction of Dwelling Unit by Mobility Status of Household Maintainer Selected Census Metropolitan Areas, Canada, 1991**

Period of Construction	Place of Residence										
	Halifax	Montreal	Ottawa/ Hull	Toronto	Winnipeg	Regina	Saskatoon	Calgary	Edmonton	Vancouver	Victoria
<b>Non-Movers</b>	530	5615	3340	4635	3125	820	765	1430	2410	3010	670
% Pre-1946	15.1	23.5	13.8	20.9	32.8	18.9	19.6	5.6	11.4	20.4	23.1
% 1946-1960	18.9	24.5	19.3	24.6	19.7	19.5	15.7	18.2	19.5	18.9	18.7
% 1961-1980	45.3	43.0	51.9	46.2	39.0	51.2	51.6	59.4	57.3	44.5	44.8
% 1981-1991	21.7	9.2	14.8	8.4	8.5	10.4	12.4	16.4	12.0	16.1	13.4
<b>Non-Migrant Movers</b>	715	6160	3615	4105	7950	1890	1930	3145	5460	4920	1065
% Pre-1946	18.2	20.9	11.9	20.0	28.4	19.3	17.9	8.1	7.9	19.0	19.7
% 1946-1960	14.7	22.6	16.7	18.5	21.4	20.4	17.4	15.9	19.0	16.2	20.2
% 1961-1980	40.6	35.6	45.2	41.9	36.4	47.9	46.4	55.8	57.7	40.1	41.3
% 1981-1991	25.9	21.0	26.1	19.5	14.0	12.7	17.9	20.0	15.3	24.8	18.8
<b>Migrants</b>	670	5325	3490	3750	2460	810	1340	2110	3695	5400	1030
% Pre-1946	10.4	13.4	11.3	14.1	24.6	21.6	13.4	7.6	5.5	14.4	20.9
% 1946-1960	16.4	18.8	12.5	18.4	17.5	21.0	14.6	11.4	14.2	17.4	15.0
% 1961-1980	48.5	39.1	44.3	40.7	42.9	43.2	50.4	58.1	61.8	44.7	47.1
% 1981-1991	2406	28.8	32.1	26.7	14.8	14.2	21.6	23.2	18.1	23.5	17.0
<b>Total Households</b>	1915	17110	10450	12485	13535	3525	4030	6685	11560	13330	2765
% Pre-1946	14.6	19.4	12.3	18.6	28.7	19.7	16.9	7.5	7.9	17.5	21.0
% 1946-1960	16.7	22.0	16.2	20.7	20.2	20.3	16.1	15.0	17.6	17.3	17.9
% 1961-1980	44.6	39.0	47.0	43.1	38.2	47.4	48.8	57.2	59.0	42.9	44.3
% 1981-1991	24.3	19.5	24.4	17.6	12.9	12.5	18.2	20.3	15.5	22.3	17.0

Source: Custom tabulations from the 1991 Census of Canada.

**Table 12:****Aboriginal Households Showing Incidence of Housing Consumption Deficiencies by Type of Deficiency, Selected Census Metropolitan Areas, Canada, 1991**

Housing Deficiency Indicator	Place of Residence										
	Halifax	Montreal	Ottawa/Hull	Toronto	Winnipeg	Regina	Saskatoon	Calgary	Edmonton	Vancouver	Victoria
No Deficiencies	55.1	56.8	62.5	54.1	39.9	39.9	37.9	51.8	44.3	46.0	48.0
One Deficiency	36.6	36.2	31.0	36.8	43.6	42.7	45.0	37.4	40.3	40.1	40.2
NOS Not Met	7.3	4.8	4.2	6.9	8.1	5.4	5.7	5.2	6.3	5.9	6.2
Major Repairs	5.7	7.0	6.4	7.3	5.7	4.8	2.9	4.8	5.4	4.4	5.1
Affordability	23.5	24.3	20.4	22.6	29.9	32.5	36.4	27.4	28.6	29.9	29.0
Two Deficiencies	7.6	6.5	5.8	8.4	15.1	16.0	15.0	9.3	13.8	12.5	10.7
Major Repairs/ NOS Not Met	1.0	0.8	1.0	0.9	1.7	1.3	1.0	0.6	1.7	1.4	0.7
Affordability/ NOS Not Met	2.9	1.8	1.6	3.0	8.1	9.4	8.3	4.3	7.6	6.6	6.0
Affordability/ Major Repairs	3.7	3.8	3.2	4.4	5.4	5.4	5.7	4.3	4.5	4.5	4.0
Three Deficiencies	0.8	0.4	0.6	0.6	1.4	1.6	1.2	1.3	1.1	1.3	0.7
One or More Deficiencies	44.9	43.2	37.5	45.9	60.1	60.1	62.1	48.2	55.7	54.0	52.0
Total Households	1915	17110	10445	12485	13535	3525	4035	6685	11565	13330	2760

Source: Custom tabulations from the 1991 Census of Canada.

**Period of Construction**

Table 11 documents the distribution of dwelling units occupied by Aboriginal households by period of construction. The age structure of dwellings occupied by Aboriginal households varies widely among the urban areas. In all urban centres, however, a majority of Aboriginal-occupied dwellings were constructed after 1960. Aboriginal consumption of housing stock built since 1961 was most common in Edmonton (74.5 percent), Ottawa-Hull (71.4 percent), Halifax (68.9 percent), Calgary (67.5 percent) and Saskatoon (67.0 percent). Aboriginal consumption of older housing stock (dwellings built prior to 1961) was most common in Toronto (49.3 percent), Winnipeg (48.9 percent) and Victoria (48.7 percent).

In all centres, except Calgary and Halifax, Aboriginal movers were more likely than non-movers to occupy dwellings constructed since 1961, as well as dwellings constructed since 1981.

This situation suggests that in most centres, the process of mobility has resulted in a small shift of Aboriginal consumption to newer dwelling units.

**Structure Type**

With the exception of Toronto and Montreal, a majority of Aboriginal households resided in either single detached units or ground-oriented multiple dwelling units (i.e. row houses, duplexes, etc.). Consumption of single detached units was highest in Regina (66.2 percent) and Saskatoon (47.8 percent) and least common among the Aboriginal populations of Montreal (23.6 percent), Toronto (29.3 percent), Vancouver (29.4 percent) and Halifax (29.8 percent).

Although a significant proportion of Aboriginal households resided in apartments in all locations, only a small proportion resided in high-rise apartments (i.e. 5 or more stories). Consumption of this dwelling type among Aboriginal households was most common in Toronto (30.5 percent), Ottawa-Hull (14.7 percent),

Vancouver (12.5 percent) and Winnipeg (12.4 percent). Mobile dwellings accounted for a small portion of Aboriginal occupied dwellings in all centres.

Quite large differences between Aboriginal movers and non-movers were identified with respect to structure type. In general, non-movers were much more likely than movers to occupy either single detached dwelling units or ground-oriented multiple dwelling units. This finding is not surprising in light of the concentration of home ownership among these dwelling types and their suitability to the housing needs of families with children. As noted previously, mobility among homeowners and among two parent families with children tends to be lower than that of renters and that of non-families and childless couples.

### Indicators of Housing Need

In addition to examining some of the main attributes of the housing stock occupied by Aboriginal households, the study examined Aboriginal housing consumption in relation to three commonly-accepted consumption standards. These standards include affordability, dwelling unit condition, and housing suitability. Households failing to meet these standards are deemed to be experiencing housing consumption deficiencies.<sup>20</sup> The generally accepted Canadian standard for housing affordability suggests that households should not pay 30 percent or more of their income for housing. The indicator of dwelling unit condition deficiencies is defined in terms of households occupying dwellings needing major

repairs.<sup>21</sup> Households which did not meet the criteria of the national occupancy standard are deemed to be experiencing housing suitability problems.<sup>22</sup>

Table 12 identifies the proportion of Aboriginal households experiencing various housing consumption deficiencies and combinations of deficiencies. As revealed in the table, a significant proportion of Aboriginal households living in all of the study areas experienced at least one housing deficiency (average of 50.3 percent across all areas). Housing consumption levels which did not meet norms were most common in Saskatoon, Regina and Winnipeg.

The incidence of housing consumption deficiencies varied widely among various types of Aboriginal households. In relation to other household types, lone parent families and non-families were much more likely to experience housing conditions which failed to meet accepted norms. Housing consumption deficiencies were least common among childless couples.

Aboriginal households that moved during the 1986-1991 period within each of the urban centres examined were considerably more likely than those that did not move, to experience at least one housing deficiency. In light of the fact that moving represents an opportunity for the household to bring housing consumption better in line with needs and resources, this finding suggests that a significant segment of Aboriginal movers was unable to achieve widely accepted housing consumption standards through the process of residential mobility.

# CHAPTER 6 - INTRA-URBAN LOCATIONAL PATTERNS

Several prior studies have noted that Aboriginal peoples tend to be concentrated in older, central city areas which are characterized by lower cost, rental accommodation. While concentrations of Aboriginal peoples in specific city neighbourhoods are evident in several large urban centres, few analyses have been undertaken of Aboriginal locational patterns.

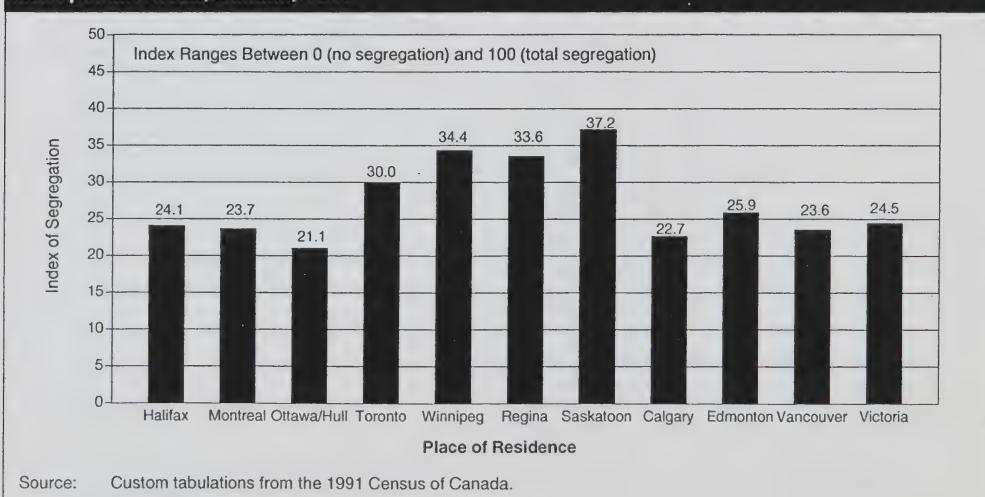
## Measures of Segregation

The extent to which the geographical distribution of the Aboriginal population differs (or is segregated) from that of the non-Aboriginal population can be measured statistically using a simple index of dissimilarity. The index is constructed to measure the proportion of one population group that would have to relocate in order for the distributions of both populations to become the same. The analysis is conducted at the census tract level and compares the share of the city's total Aboriginal population that resides in each tract to the share of the city's total non-Aboriginal population that resides in each

corresponding tract. The index ranges in value from zero (0) indicating no differences in the geographical patterns to 100 indicating the presence of no similarity in the geographical patterns.

Results of the analyses for each urban area are illustrated in Figure 11. Across the various urban centres, the index of segregation varies from a low of 21.1 to a high of 37.2. These levels can be interpreted as low to moderate levels of segregation and could be accounted for, in a large part, by housing tenure differences between the Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal populations. In relation to other urban areas, the Aboriginal populations of Saskatoon, Winnipeg, Regina and Toronto were more segregated from the non-Aboriginal population. Differences between the geographical patterns of the Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal populations were smaller in the remaining urban areas and of a similar scale (segregation index ranging from 21.1 in Ottawa-Hull to 25.9 in Edmonton).

**Figure 11:**  
**Index of Geographical Segregation of Aboriginal Ancestry Population. Selected Census Metropolitan Areas, Canada, 1991**



Source: Custom tabulations from the 1991 Census of Canada.

**Table 13:****Distribution of Census Tracts by Aboriginal Share of Total Population Selected Census Metropolitan Areas, Canada, 1991**

Census Metropolitan Area	Aboriginal Share of Tract Population(%)						
	< 1.0	1.0-4.9	5.0-9.9	10.0-19.9	20.0-29.9	30.0-49.9	50.0+
Halifax	15	50	5	0	0	0	0
% of Tracts	20.0	66.7	6.7	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Montreal	245	483	9	0	0	0	0
% of Tracts	33.2	65.5	1.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Ottawa/Hull	12	205	41	0	0	0	0
% of Tracts	4.7	79.5	15.9	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Toronto	451	353	2	0	0	0	0
% of Tracts	56.0	43.8	0.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Winnipeg	2	49	52	16	9	3	1
% of Tracts	1.3	31.6	33.5	10.3	5.8	1.9	0.6
Regina	4	21	13	9	2	0	0
% of Tracts	8.2	42.9	26.5	18.4	4.1	0.0	0.0
Saskatoon	1	25	7	12	2	0	0
% of Tracts	2.1	52.1	14.6	25.0	4.2	0.0	0.0
Calgary	13	115	25	0	0	0	0
% of Tracts	8.5	75.2	16.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Edmonton	10	103	54	20	0	0	0
% of Tracts	5.3	55.1	28.9	10.7	0.0	0.0	0.0
Vancouver	42	235	16	5	0	0	0
% of Tracts	14.1	78.9	5.4	1.7	0.0	0.0	0.0
Victoria	5	50	9	1	0	0	0
% of Tracts	7.7	76.9	13.8	1.5	0.0	0.0	0.0

Source: Custom tabulations from the 1991 Census of Canada.

### Measures of Concentration and "Ghetto-ization"

The Aboriginal populations of most of the urban areas included in the study are not highly concentrated at the census tract level. Analysis of concentration of the Aboriginal population was conducted at the census tract (CT) level.<sup>23</sup> In both Toronto and Montreal, for example, no more than one (1) percent of the total Aboriginal population resided in any one census tract. In relation to other urban areas, concentration of the Aboriginal population was most pronounced in Regina and Saskatoon. In Regina, more than 10 percent of the city's total Aboriginal population resided in one census tract (Tract 18). In Saskatoon, 5 percent or more of the city's Aboriginal population resided in each of six (6) census tracts (Tracts 5, 6.01, 6.02,

17, 18.03 and 20), which jointly accounted for more than 38 percent of the city's total Aboriginal population. Geographical concentration of the Aboriginal populations residing in all other centres was substantially lower.

Data concerning the Aboriginal share of the total census tract population (see Table 13) suggest that Aboriginal ghetto's or enclaves (i.e. neighbourhoods in which the majority of the population are of the same ethnic origin) are not common in the major urban areas included in this study. The existence of sizable Aboriginal enclaves appears to be limited to only one urban area, Winnipeg. In Winnipeg, the Aboriginal population accounted for more than 20 percent of the total population in 13 census tracts, and formed the majority of the population in one

census tract. In only two other centres, Regina and Saskatoon, did the Aboriginal population of individual census tracts exceed 20 percent of the total tract population.

### **Migrant Destination Areas**

Statistical measures of the level of segregation of the migrant and non-migrant components of the Aboriginal populations of the study areas were also constructed for this study. In all urban areas, except Toronto, the segregation index of migrants/non-migrants was smaller than that of the Aboriginal/non-Aboriginal population. This finding implies that differences between the geographical patterns of Aboriginal migrants and non-migrants are smaller than those between

Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal populations. Relatively small values for the index suggest that in most of the urban areas, migrants generally tend to be located in the same areas as non-migrants. This finding implies that in-migration during the 1986-1991 period served to reinforce and expand existing concentrations of the Aboriginal population (especially in the case of Saskatoon).

Additional analyses comparing the locational patterns of movers and stayers did not reveal a high level of dissimilarity. Although further research on this subject is warranted, the study's findings suggest that residential mobility during the 1986-1991 period did not result in significant changes to the geographical pattern of the Aboriginal populations in the study areas.

## CHAPTER 7 - SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

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The study's findings with respect to the geographical and demographic dimensions of Aboriginal migration serve to both reinforce and extend the results of previous studies. In this regard, the study explored Aboriginal migration across several geographical schemes including inter-provincial, north-south, and rural-urban schemes. Like several earlier analyses, this study has found that although a large volume of Aboriginal interprovincial migration occurred during the 1986-1991 period, net movements between provinces or regions of Canada had little effect on the provincial/regional distribution of the Aboriginal population. This dimension of Aboriginal migration remains of secondary importance, in light of other geographic flows.

Substantial Aboriginal migration flows between far north/mid-north/south geographic zones were also identified in this study. Net flows among these zones, however, were quite small and did not serve to greatly alter the geographical distribution of the population during the study period.

In relation to the other geographical dimensions of Aboriginal migration examined in this study, movement on- and off-reserve and within the rural-urban hierarchy represents a more common and important factor in Aboriginal migration. In this regard, the study identified a net movement of Canada's Aboriginal population to larger urban centres, suggesting that longstanding patterns toward urbanization of the Aboriginal population persisted during the 1986-1991 period. The study, however, also identified net movement to Indian reserves, a finding which deviates from those of many other Aboriginal migration studies conducted for several prior time periods. More detailed analysis has revealed that the migration of individuals registered under Bill C-31 played a significant role in the net movement of Aboriginal peoples to reserves. As additional registrations under the provisions of Bill C-31 are expected to occur in the future and especially within the next 10-15 years, the potential for further migration of "C-31's" to reserves clearly exists in the short and medium term. The extent of this *return* migration

is likely to be determined in large part by the availability of on-reserve housing opportunities.

The study's results also serve to reinforce the findings of several earlier studies regarding the demographic and socio-economic characteristics of Aboriginal migrants. The Aboriginal migrant population during the 1986-1991 period appears to be quite similar to that identified in prior research. Females, younger families and lone parent families have been found to be over-represented in the migrant population (and especially among migrants to urban areas). These demographic groups within the Aboriginal population remained the most likely to move and formed the bulk of the migrant population during the period. Of particular note in this regard, are the high concentrations of lone parent families among the migrant populations of major urban areas. Lone parent families formed the majority of families with children among the migrant populations to several of the major urban areas examined in this study. Although it is not entirely clear whether the state of lone parenthood existed at the time of migration or occurred after migration (as a consequence of marital separation or other reasons), it is clear that the process of migration is contributing to larger concentration of lone parent families among the Aboriginal populations in several major urban areas. As the vast majority of these families are headed by females, the economic well-being of many (perhaps the majority of) Aboriginal children is closely tied to fortunes of Aboriginal women.

This study has also found that in relation to the non-migrant population, Aboriginal migrants possessed higher personal resources (in the form of educational attainment) and were more likely to be active in the labour market in their new community. These findings, which are generally consistent with those of earlier studies, suggest that personal resource development encourages migration, probably in response to the desire for employment and/or higher education opportunities. In the absence of significant levels of economic development and job creation on reserves and in rural areas, further improvements

in Aboriginal educational and training outcomes can be expected to result in further migration to urban areas.

Although more highly educated than non-migrants, Aboriginal migrants experienced much higher rates of unemployment in their new community. Reasons for this situation are not clear, but may reflect broader difficulties related to adjusting to life in a new community. On the positive side, however, among those who worked throughout 1990, migrant employment earnings were higher than those of non-migrants suggesting that the higher levels of education possessed by migrants translate into higher paying jobs. This finding suggests that further investments in educational and training initiatives for the Aboriginal population can be expected to result in improved job prospects and employment incomes.

It was also found that the economic well-being of migrants varied widely among the major urban centres included in the study. In relation to all other centres, Aboriginal migrants to major Prairie urban areas experienced the greatest economic difficulties in terms of the labour market and incomes.

Analysis of the locational patterns of the Aboriginal population and Aboriginal migrants in major urban areas suggests that the majority of migrants located in areas with sizable existing Aboriginal populations, thereby reinforcing or strengthening existing geographical concentrations of the population. At the same time, however, it was found that levels of segregation of the Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal populations in most of the major urban areas studied were not large and could be accounted for by housing tenure differences. Sizable geographic concentrations of Aboriginal households within specific neighbourhoods (census tracts) were characteristic of only three centres, Winnipeg, Regina and Saskatoon.

As with the process of migration, little evidence was uncovered in this study to suggest that recent residential mobility contributed to significant changes in the geographical distribution of the Aboriginal population within major urban areas. In most centres, the Aboriginal population remains

geographically dispersed, although population concentrations exist in specific neighbourhoods with predominantly rental housing.

Residential mobility (or changing residence within the same community) was found to be much more common among the Aboriginal populations residing in urban areas, especially larger urban centres. The study's findings with respect to Aboriginal mobility and housing conditions of the Aboriginal populations residing in major urban areas are not encouraging. Residential mobility rates among the Aboriginal population were found to be considerably higher (nearly twice as large) as those of the non-Aboriginal population. In spite of more frequent moves, the study has found little evidence to suggest that the process of residential mobility contributes to resolution of the housing deficiencies which confront the majority of Aboriginal households. In light of the high incidence of housing deficiencies experienced by Aboriginal movers, frequent moves may, in fact represent an additional dimension of housing deficiency for many Aboriginal households.

As with other indicators of economic well-being, the study's results concerning Aboriginal housing circumstances in major urban centres clearly identify Aboriginal housing conditions in major Prairie urban centres to be the most problematic. Most Aboriginal households located in these centres reported housing consumption levels which did not meet accepted norms, especially in terms of housing affordability. Low household incomes, and the factors that result in low income, appear to be associated with most Aboriginal housing consumption deficiencies in major urban areas. The study's analysis of Aboriginal housing conditions in major urban areas revealed two significant dimensions of need. The first relates to the inability of many Aboriginal families (especially lone parent families) to acquire affordable housing which is large enough to accommodate their space requirements. The second dimension relates to Aboriginal non-families (especially single persons), many of whom are presently experiencing difficulties obtaining smaller, affordable units in sound physical condition.

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# END NOTES

## Chapter 1

1. The report presents several of the key findings of a larger technical report entitled *The Migration and Mobility Patterns of Canada's Aboriginal Population*. The technical report contains more extensive and detailed information related to recent Aboriginal migration and mobility patterns.

## Chapter 2

2. The Census population estimate presented above is not adjusted for non-enumerated or incompletely enumerated Indian reserves or settlements. A total of 78 Indian reserves did not participate in the 1991 Census.
3. The APS population estimate presented above is not adjusted for non-enumerated or incompletely enumerated Indian reserves or settlements. In addition to the 78 reserves which did not participate in the Census, 181 Indian reserves or settlements were not included in the APS. Readers interested in the issues of non-enumeration and survey under-coverage should consult the User's Guide to 1991 Aboriginal Data prepared by Statistics Canada.
4. Analyses of the Aboriginal ancestry population undertaken for this study also differentiate among groups on the basis of Aboriginal ethnic origins. Although based on ethnic origins, the categories are similar to those developed for the Aboriginal identity population.
5. International migration cannot be fully explored within the context of the Census and APS data bases, as these data sources captured information only for in-migrants to Canada. The out-migration (i.e. emigration) component of international migration is not documented in this study.
6. The concepts of rural and urban are those of the 1991 Census of Canada. Readers may consult the 1991 Census Dictionary for a detailed definition of these concepts.

## Chapter 3

7. Examples of existing research studies concerning Aboriginal migration flows include Siggner [1977], Clatworthy [1981], Clatworthy and Hull [1983], Norris [1985], Graham [1987], Clatworthy and Stevens [1987] and Loh [1990]. In addition to these specific studies, readers may wish to consult one or more of the several annotated bibliographies which have been completed on the subject of Aboriginal urbanization, including: Gurstein [1997], Allen and Tobin [1989], Yarnell [1990], Shindruk and Carter [1991] and Archer [1991].
8. Net migration rates presented in this study are calculated by dividing the number of net migrants for a specific geographic area during the period by an estimate of the 1986 population of the geographic area. The 1986 population is estimated as the 1991 population (aged 5 or more years) minus the number of net migrants during the 1986-1991 period. The calculation provides only an approximation of the true net migration rate, as the method does not account for either mortality or migration associated with individuals born during the 1986-1991 period.
9. The amendments also allowed for first time registration of many of the children (and some grand-children) of these individuals.
10. The comparatively low levels of C-31 migration to Indian reserves in Saskatchewan and Alberta may result from a variety of factors including preferences among the C-31 population to reside off reserve and more limited on-reserve housing opportunities. They

may also result from restrictive band membership codes which deny membership rights (and attendant benefits) to some segments of the C-31 population. As noted by Clatworthy and Smith (1993), highly restrictive membership codes tend to be more common among First Nations in the provinces of Alberta and Saskatchewan.

## Chapter 4

11. Existing research concerning migrant demographic and socioeconomic characteristics includes Clatworthy [1980], [1981], [1982], [1983], Clatworthy and Gunn [1982], Clatworthy and Hull [1983], Clatworthy and Stevens [1987], Denton [1972], Graham [1987], Krotz [1980], Linklater [1972], McGahan [1986], Nagler [1970], Peters [1987], [1992] and Stanbury [1975].
12. Labour force participation rates (and other labour market indicators presented in this report) are calculated for the population aged 15 or more years and *not attending* school full time. The participation rate measures the proportion of the population that is employed or actively seeking work.
13. The unemployment rate measures of the proportion of the active labour force (i.e. those employed or seeking employment) who were seeking employment.
14. Space limitations do not allow for the presentation of many of the results of the study's analyses of the demographic and socio-economic characteristics of Aboriginal migrants to major urban areas. Readers are asked to consult Section 7 of technical report for more detail.

## Chapter 5

15. Mobility rate estimates have been provided by Graham [1987] and Clatworthy and Stevens [1987] using data from the 1981 Census. Clatworthy [1983] and Clatworthy and Stevens [1987] also examined residential mobility rates for various types of households, and for tenure and income groups. Several studies of Aboriginal housing conditions have been completed. Readers interested in this research should consult Archer [1991] and Kastes [1993]. Clatworthy's [1983] study of Aboriginal housing conditions in Winnipeg specifically compared the housing circumstances of movers and stayers and explored several aspects of the relationship of residential mobility to housing conditions and consumption.
16. Use of the Census data for the analyses was required to support household level analysis. The small size of the APS samples in major urban areas does not allow for detailed analysis to be undertaken at the household level for individual urban areas.
17. The Census defines a household to include all persons who occupy the same dwelling unit and who do not have a usual place of residence elsewhere in Canada. Readers should note that the ethnic origin and mobility status of other household members may differ from that of the primary household maintainer.
18. The residential mobility rate is defined in terms of the non-migrant population (i.e. the population that lived in the community both at the outset and end of the time period). The rate is calculated by dividing the population of non-migrant movers (i.e. individuals who lived in the community at the outset of the period, but who lived at a different residence at the end of the period) by the total non-migrant population.
19. The residential mobility rates of tenure groups, as presented in this study, should be viewed as approximations. The rates are based on the tenure class of the household at the end of the time period. Some portion of the population is likely to have changed tenure in the course of a move during the period. Data on the prior tenure of movers were not available to the study.
20. The indicators of housing consumption considered in this study are the same as those recognized by Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation for purposes of defining *core*

*housing need.* In defining core need, CMHC also assesses whether the household could afford another adequate and suitable dwelling unit within the same housing market area. We use the term housing need or housing deficiency to refer to situations where housing consumption levels fail to meet accepted norms. Housing consumption deficiencies could result from several factors (e.g. low incomes, consumer choice) and do not necessarily imply problems with the housing market.

21. Data concerning the state of repair of the dwelling unit derive from the household's perception of the condition of the dwelling and are to some extent subjective. As such, these data may not accurately portray the extent of dwelling quality problems.
22. Traditional standards of housing suitability measured the relationship between the dwelling unit's space and the space needs of households in terms of persons per room or persons per bedroom. Households exceeding certain thresholds (e.g. more than one person per room) were deemed to be overcrowded. The *national occupancy standard*, developed in the 1980's by CMHC and provincial housing agencies, provides a more detailed measure of the appropriateness of the fit between the space requirements of the household and the dwelling unit's space. Readers interested in the definition of the national occupancy standard should consult Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation.

## Chapter 6

23. Different results may be obtained if the analysis was conducted at the enumeration area (EA) level. Generally, census tracts have a population between 2,500 and 8,000, with a preferred average of 4,000; are as homogeneous as possible in terms of economic status and social living conditions; and have a shape that is as compact as possible. Enumeration areas are smaller subsets of census tracts. They refer to the area usually canvassed by one census representative and contain a maximum of 375 households.









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